1:Chabot--210 E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar OG6

838 /155 cont./ 2. J. A. Slot: see Geneeskundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië, Vol. 75, pp. 811 ff.

838 548 Kawe kawe can be encountered in Macassar and in the large pasar places of /156/ South Celebes as male prostitutes who make themselves available in exchange for money for the performance of sexual acts. In some cases it appeared that these were young men who in their own kampong in the interior had a position analagous to that of Taking. They elected to live in a large place without their kinsmen rather than in their kampongs, where their activities are, as it were, constantly controlled and their sexual needs satisfied with greater difficulty.

[178] It may be assumed that the individuals who, in earlier times, showed homosexual tendencies and then found a place as bissu at the royal courts now populate the marketplaces as male prostitutes.

●535 857 In this section on homosexuality, the Masri dance needs to be mentioned. The dancers are little boys from eight to twelve years of age. They dance in the simplest manner by tripping back and forth in a circle on a small surface and at the same time moving their hands and arms back and forth to the beat of the music. In so doing they do not strive for [534] any particular ideal of technique or beauty. A drum (rabana) and possibly a violin accompanies them. At the same time [533] they sing the little four-line verses (kelong) which are customary between young men and women. In this dance they are to a certain extent disguised. Around the head they have folded [838] a white cloth which likewise partly covers the face, thus a [832] kind of veil. The sexual stimulation which proceeds from the combination of verse, rhythm, and the little boys half-disguised as women, is the main thing.

177 535 838 The dance seems to have become known in South Celebes around 1928, and at that time it seems to have attained a

177 /156 cont./ sudden great popularity (1). The onlookers, men,
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1. So great was the interest in this dance that teachers complained about the sleepiness of their pupils during the day in school (report by the ex-teacher Noeroeddin to Dr. A. A. Cense).

according to reports principally married men, showed their enthusiasm by stuffing money in large sums down the necks [648] of the little dancers. After some time the dance was prohibited by the administration. Only after the capitulation of the Dutch East Indies in 1942, have Masri representations been given again.

171 The name of the dance probably betrays the land of origin /157/ (1). Lane (2) first gives a description of a dance
174

1. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Dr. G. F. Pijper.

2. E. W. Lane, The Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London and New York, 1908, p. 389.

by women who at the same time are prostitutes, and then reports that the only thing which is really disapproved in it is the fact that women perform this dance. Consequently, men may also take the place of women as performers of this dance. They are usually young men, accompanied by the rabab. They represent women, but in order to prevent people from

1:Chabot E-5 (1940-1949) 1950 OG6 Makassar
OG6

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●535
786
838

Bissu of Segeri during their dance, in which they are in a trance and attempt to press a kris into the body. Pages 208-209.

(Voorlichting, East Indonesia.)

[end plate 10]

Java OE1
Moluccas OH1
Gorontalo OG4
Makassar OG6

I [426 cont.]
J and these serve solely for the amusement of the spectators; an
535 example is the distinguished character dance of the Javanese.
MA The war dances Tjakalélá in the Moluccas), which are found
535 primarily in the east of the archipelago, are also purely for the enjoyment of the audience and probably never had any religious significance.

I We shall now give some examples of each of the above-
535 mentioned dances; it will be seen that there is a definite development from purely religious or magical ceremony to mere amusement, although perhaps this statement is too sweeping, for it is by no means certain that the development has always
MK been the same among all the peoples of the archipelago. [427]
G [Illustration appears here.]

I [428] Shaman Dances. In the archipelago certain dances are
756 one of the ways shamans are put in a trance; likewise, possession
535 by a spirit is also expressed in more or less wild dances. Where the shamans formed a closed society, as was the case among the Buginese and the old Minahasa, for instance, it was natural that the women in particular should apply themselves to the art of dancing. The original shamanistic dances gradually became secularized; dancing became a pastime and retained only faint
J traces of its former significance. This is probably the explana-
I tion for the existence of a class of professional dancing girls,
[54a] who at the same time are often prostitutes. The usual name for these dancing girls on western Java is ronggèng, on central and eastern Java, talèdèk.

J The dances of these women are usually designated as
I
535 tandakken, derived from a Malayan dialect word tandak; the proper Javanese word for dancing is andjogèd, the Sundanese ngigel; in the Malayan of Sumatra, Riau, etc., one speaks of menari. This tandakken is done in exactly the same manner as the ordinary form of dancing described above; the ronggèng hold a slèndang in front of the mouth and during the dance strike at the end of the slèndang again and again in a peculiar way with the hands, meanwhile uttering little songs that can hardly be understood owing to the covering of the mouth. In

Melanesians OK2
Toradja 0611

Java OE1
Sumatra OD1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7
Batak OD5

J I 535 [428 cont.] Government lands the use of the covering for the mouth is obligatory, but not in the Principalities.

Bl S 535 Public or professional dancing girls like those on Java are also found in Palembang, where they are called pelandoek (actually, "chevrotain"); among the Makassarese and Buginese, where they are known as padjogé; and on Bali, where they are called djogèd. The two last names are related to the Javanese word

MK 535 756 mentioned above, andjogèd. Although the Buginese bissoe still execute a kind of dance during their performances, nevertheless a direct connection between these shamans and the padjogé is no longer apparent, at least at present.

Bt 756 786 535 Among the Toba Batak, besides the ordinary sibaso [429] or shamans, there are also sibaso marèndé-èndé; among them the spirits are not called down to deliver oracles concerning sickness, etc., but rather the intention is to show the dances inspired by the spirit, during which all kinds of songs are sung (Batak, èndé, of the same form as the Malayan pantoen). This is an example of shaman dancing where the dance is actually a diversion.

I 535 Masked Dances. The animistic or magical character of these dances is to be seen quite clearly among some peoples; among others it is no longer recognizable, although it may be assumed

MI I [532] on good grounds that they once had this character.

Throughout the world, masks originally had a close connection with religious conceptions, especially with ancestor worship. This is the case among the Melanesians in particular, where, for example, on New Mecklenburg, there are enormous, beautifully carved dance-masks. On New Caledonia there are masks which are the front part of the skull of an ancestor, more or less touched up; this is perhaps the most primitive form of mask and one which shows plainly that the object of putting on masks in some cases was to give a representation of the deceased ancestors. Wooden masks are found in various parts of the archipelago. Among the

T 532 Toradja they are called pémia, a word which means "make after the model of a human being, image of a human being." They are used at the great festivals for the dead. These pémia are

Batak OD5
Celebes OC1
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

[119 cont.]

Bt 534 Finally, we should include a description of the Batak orchestra to the extent it differs from a Javanese orchestra. We have chosen the Batak orchestra in particular because it is assembled according to fixed rules. A complete orchestra consists of: 1. four gongs, ogung, of various sizes, played by two men; 2. nine gordang, which are beaten with sticks by two men; 3. two odup (tambourines, each played by one person with the hand); 4. the sarune, the flute; and 5. a hawar-hawar, cymbals, played by one person. The whole orchestra consists of eight persons, from which comes its name Si-radja na-uwalu. Such fixed rules are not found among all peoples, however; among most of them, only those instruments that happen to be Mo C 534 available are assembled. When there is a bonang, it is the central feature, for example, in northern Celebes and in the Moluccas. One would look in vain for regularity in their music; it is only a boring ting-tang or an ear-deafening drumming.

Song and Dance

Mo MK Bl I 535 Song and dance are linked with music on the Outer Possessions, too. As a rule dancing is not a profession for women, although there are exceptions, such as among the Makassarese and Buginese, in Palembang, and on Bali. In Palembang they are called pelandok = chevrotain, and they MK [292] wear a [120] peculiar costume, while among the Buginese and Makassarese they are called padjoge. Every native has the right to dance with the padjoge for a payment of 10, 30, or 60 pennies and is then called pangibing. The adat prohibits one MK from walking amidst such persons when they are dancing. If 689 a native commits such an outrage, the pangibing will stab him 535 with a kris; if a Hollander should do it, then people shrug their shoulders at such ignorance (1).

2: Wilken--153 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Malays AN5 MaKassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4 Sumatra OG1
Buru OH8 Moluccas OH1
[120 cont.] Lampong-Redjang OD12 Batak OD5

MK 689 535

1. Matthes, Bijdrage tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes, p. 127.

I 533 535 Dancing and singing are a part of all festivities and gatherings, but they are done then by the celebrants themselves. Dancing is not always coupled with singing, however, and among the various dances there are the principal kinds: dances

S 535 with singing, and dances without song. The first is represented in the so-called mĕnari, which is found primarily on Sumatra. The dancers line up for a kind of row or round dance. The former takes place without singing, the latter with it. The mĕnari corresponds chiefly with the dances of the ronggĕng on Java and therefore consists of artificial contortions and movements of hands, fingers, and hips (2). The women generally re-

2. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 120. Engelhard, "Het eiland Saleyer," Bijdr. t. d. T. L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 263 ff. The reading of this article is especially recommended on account of the lively style of the author.

Mo Bt 535 main standing in one place while moving the body imperceptibly up and down. The men bend backward and then forward over the women. The mĕnari is also performed among the Batak and in the Moluccas.

Bu G L-R M1 533 538 883 As we have said, there is also the dance without song. At the same time there is the custom of young people of both sexes assembling in the evening in order to address each other in song or to dance. This is the custom, for example, among the Malays, the Lampong, the Redjang, the Alfoer of the Minahasa, the Alfoer of Buru, etc. The little songs that the young people sing to one another on such occasions are called pantun, little verses of four lines of which the first two lines [121] usually have no meaning and only serve to give the terminal rhymes. There are people, however, who assert that

159 are plenty of people in his house including the two very pretty young girls who do the fine weaving. Saleh said that they both had learned gold work too, and that during a rush they are able to help him and his cousin helper. When there is not so much rush, they weave. The old man said he was also a carpenter in the old days, and pointed out the houses he had built in the leprosarium. He said he was born in Laikang, where there is much salt making from sea water.

774 Saleh uses the word dewata for spirit in the animistic sense, and also understands the term sumangat.

000 Most of the day was spent in looking around. Tomorrow I will go through my notes for questions and further discussion.

871 Balombaru, September 2, 1949: This third day I thought
157 I would go through my notes, but I got sidetracked onto
326 Saleh's answers to the schedule. This is all right, al-
159 though the going is very slow. One thing is very dramatic. Saleh told me about his personal tragedy as far as education is concerned. He said that he wanted to go to normal school, but that the fee was f.65. Neither he nor his father could afford this. They tried to sell portions of their rice fields, but times were bad then and there were no buyers. Saleh said that he then went to the teacher (I gather it was the superintendent) of the normal school and asked why he must pay f.65. The answer was that that was the price of board and room. At this Saleh offered to bring a mat and sleep on the floor and to get his own food. However, the superintendent said no. As Saleh told me the story, much affect could be noted. And he added that plenty of other boys have had the same trouble. He is truly an ambitious man and would have justified any help given him. He said that he had trained lots of young goldsmiths and that they were now scattered all over. He said that he had trained so many that often one found villages around here where there were formerly no goldsmiths at all and which now consisted of a good number of goldsmiths.

● [535] One thing before the schedule: I talked about the dancing
584 girls. They told me that the Makassarese are very strict
834 regarding all girls. One might not approach á girl directly but only through relatives and always in a respectable fashion. In regard to the go-between in marriage, they said that many of the girls in school today are scorning the old practice. However, an old man, cackling, said that the padjoge in the Buginese country were different. He said

there is much news exchange carried on in the pasar. Most people, they said, are not much interested in any news except that which applies to local affairs. 203

Ideas concerning the "place" of this village in the world: there is little good geographical knowledge to be had except in the school. This is the big thing here.' They saw my point when I told them about van Baal's argument that children lose pride when they see that Goa is little and unimportant, while their fathers think of it as the navel of the world and can thus feel that they belong to a great place. They seemed a bit puzzled and distressed. As for ideas regarding the population of Indonesia and the world, they said that maybe ten individuals knew the population of Indonesia (though it is being spread by the Ministry of Information in propaganda). As for the population of the world, Saleh said he did not know this, and that no one else in the village did. He said that there was plenty of local patriotism. 829 186

Contact relations with other villages and neighborhoods: Of this there is not much yet, but they said that the old enmity against the Buginese is now gone. They could tell me nothing regarding any other enmities. However, they admitted that in higher political circles rivalry probably persists. We talked about the arrest of the Goa and Bone royalty and they are not sore about this; indeed, they merely said that they had no knowledge of these things. They added that they could not understand why the Dutch took the Goa radja because he is a quiet man who sat in the palace all the time reading kitab. They have a feeling for justice, but feel so ignorant and get so little news that they don't even try to comprehend why things like that happen.

Modern dancing: I remarked that there was plenty of modern dancing in the Philippines. They said that it was simply non-existent here, and that seems to be the case. This is a real difference. They said that the people merely like to look at it. They evidently meant the staring at European dancing couples which I have observed. But tolerance stands out all over. There is no criticism of the "wickedness" of alien customs, etc. There is merely an attitude of "that is the way it is." 177 535 609

Flores: The following information was obtained from the Secretary of the Cultureel Centrum here. His name is van der Wetering. This Cultureel Centrum here is a branch of a private organization in Amsterdam which gets a subsidy from the East Indonesian government. Van der Wetering said that the Catholic Mission has Flores, the Protestant 000

old practices. They were interested in the story Rahim told me about Segeri, where there are lots of homosexuals. Rahim had gone to the circumcision feast there, where buffalo were killed and there was much dancing. The mass circumcision, boys sitting on buffalo to be killed, having their teeth filed, and the like brought up further questions. 000 [838] 304 881 574 231

Circumcision: Saleh said that sunat [circumcision] here is accompanied by a big feast, and that buffalo are killed and are eaten. Also, he added that teeth are still filed, every boy having them filed a bit. No longer are they filed down to the gums at the circumcision rites. They showed me examples of boys with their teeth filed even. This evidently applies only to members of the upper class. A boy holds a piece of wood clamped between his teeth and the tukang sunat [i.e., circumcision expert--Analyst] (evidently) files them down a bit with a stone. This is also done for the girls, who sunat too, but but there is no feast for them. 565 562

Regarding the pinati, Saleh said something about two kinds of them, one kind being "Hindu". I didn't get the point. At feasts of all kinds (marriage, circumcision, etc.) there are padjoge and pakarena. They go along with drum beaters. The former are prostitutes, the latter young girls. At the outside they are fourteen to fifteen years old. After that they must quit. They come from Limbung mainly. There are none in this kampong. They come in troops of ten including two leaders. They cost about f.50. Slaves cannot afford to have them at their feasts. 527 574 548 435 567 535

I asked about the title daeng. There are many people who have this title in the kampong. Saleh said that they all had at least a little noble blood in them some place along the line. In regard to the bate, it is agreed that they all have the title gallarang which is lower than that of a high noble The bate are "high" gallarang. They were formerly mere chieftains of the commoner class. This again is the two-way division, and the mutual relationships between nobles and commoners is again evident. 554 565

In regard to service for rulers and chiefs, I was told that there is no more of this. For example, in the rice fields of the ruler the workers now get wages. Also the same holds true for the kepala kampong. Formerly he had a kasuwijang. [obligations reflecting respect for higher rank] 178 466 622 565

They all knew about the troubadors who also come to a feast. 533

House status marks: little is known about the rules concerned with the number of piles, but much is known about the ramp and the gable flaps. The latter is just as written in Friedericy. A woman laughed a lot when she heard me say the word for the flaps. The ramp seems to be losing some of its special sanction now. As for the horn decoration, it was formerly true, but now it is found frequently among the commoner rich. They said I must correlate the flaps with the horns. If one sees only two flaps and horns, the latter is a fake. Thus the flaps seem to be the best of similar social indicators at the present time. Saleh can use three flaps. In regard to using two roofs, it is said that this is all right now too, and that high nobles might have three roofs. They knew most of the names and events in the legends of origin, including the details regarding seven oro or black men. Regarding marriage, they said the rule was for a man to live for a while, perhaps a year, with the wife's family. Then they may go where they choose. 342 114 554 565 773 591

Feasts: there seems to have been a considerable decline in the Makassarese custom such as the presence of the pakarena, as more and more Javan, Bali, and other practices came in. For example, one of the men said that they were having a Javan show tonight, with live actors. I wonder if the Javan customs might not drive out the native. Maybe they are more interesting? 177 535 527 574

They insisted that there was no longer any enmity between Makassarese and Buginese peoples. They seemed to be quite ready to say that although Goa was formerly number one, Bone is more important now. They vividly recalled the name of the great radja in Portuguese times, Tumaparisi Kallonna. 186 173

They told me that Kale Goa is not far away, in fact it is only about three kilometers from here. I will go there tomorrow. The great stone of coronation is located there. It is believed to have come from heaven, and they are all quite serious about it. The well where warriors bathed for invulnerability formerly is also located there. However, there is no longer any water there. 778

They said that they could understand Saleier [the language spoken on Salayar Island] to some degree, but that it was really a different language. They imitated it and laughed. They agreed on my information concerning the writing. 197

They said that they had sago but that they did not eat much of it because they didn't like it. They also have maize and it is planted after rice. Thus ended the day. 241 262

342 On arrival [to attend a feast celebrating a child's birth--
574 Analyst] we found that the padjoge had gone by bus to the
852 feast house and so we went there. There they were with
565 much paraphernalia, costumes, and so forth, as they were going to stay there for the six-day feast. They looked very pretty. We went into the house, which was some walk from the end of the road. In front of the house was a big porch. It was really big. Here gatherings and feasts are held. Around it is a crisscross bamboo lattice-like wall, and Andi's brother said this could be used only by nobles. This rule seems to hold, unlike the ramp and the decorated gable and
262 multiple roof. The Sulewatang and I ate kentang [potatoes],
751 and Andi ate rice. His brother served it, evidently an honor.
576 I think the manager of the resthouse who was with us told
271 Andi's brother that I didn't eat rice and being remarkably politic, they fixed the "potatoes." Evidently there were no potatoes, for they made them with eggs and vegetables. The food was good and the water was colored pink, like mouth-wash. Later I was told by an Englishman here that this is a bark infusion (tannin) used to disinfect things. It is tasteless.

535 Then the padjoge came in dressed in old style costumes.
533 Three were in red and four in black. And they were very
[292] pretty. Later on they will use real costumes and I will be here then. They danced and sang. I noted the nasal unison which I thought was very nice. The only accompaniment was that of the drum. Andi's brother said that there were other instruments but not for this type of dance. The songs were largely erotic and of the pantun type. There are many kinds and all are named. The repertory is large. They make up new ones constantly. This is especially true of the teacher and the drummer of the troupe. But the troupes are not set and they consist of a more or less pick-up lot usually. But there is evidently a tendency toward troupes. An old woman teacher was in charge. She sat in front and scolded with signs if the performance was not good. The drummer, beating with
535 both hands produced good and fancy rhythms. But the girls
567 [i.e., professional dancers--Analyst] were not dramatic. They
565 were absolutely dead-pan. Some appear as light complexioned, others are powdered, and others are darker. One was very young and pretty, about eleven years old. The others were up to about twenty or twenty-five years old. Andi's brother said that they can be a padjoge up until about twenty-five at the outside. They are slaves, and so are the guru and the drummer. They are owned by nobles. Only a few nobles have troupes now. Three of these belong to the Sulewatang,

although he told me that they were "his people". He said that they had to do what he tells them. I asked if they would be there until Saturday, so that I could take a picture. He said that they had to stay a year if he told them to. They may not marry without their owner's consent. A man wanting one of them [i.e., professional dancers, padjoge --Analyst] must pay the owner perhaps f.500 or even as much as f.1,000. And even later, when they are no longer able to perform as padjoge, they still must get their owner's consent to marry. The man must pay their owner. All the money they make, and he mentioned the figure of f.100 a night, goes to their owner who gives them food, dress, and so forth. They work in the kitchen and do other similar tasks when not performing as padjoge. I am not clear as to whether or not they are prostitutes, but if so, the owner gets the money. Evidently they are not. To dance with them, or request a song, which lasts fifteen minutes, costs f.2. Two rather older men danced a lot, and the hand and foot movements were like the Javanese dancing except that there was more footwork. The girls would be a fine psychological study. They are absolute slaves, dead-pan, and formerly they could not even raise their eyes. They are singing all of the time, sometimes with a leader and chorus arrangement, sometimes in unison. I stared fascinated at this vision of girls absolutely owned and mechanically doing their chores. Andi's brother said the girls like the job because it is easy. They get good clothes, rings and so forth. The radja's dancing girls are called padjaga, not padjoge, and their dances are evidently different. And they are not rented out for fees. One of them is a stunning prognathous type, with cushiony lips and cheeks, and with a fine figure; also powdered and with a dead-pan expression. One of them is older and rather fat and one is not good looking. Andi's brother said that this group is not a particularly pretty one. There were not very many people present [at a feast, celebrating the birth of a child--Analyst]. Around the house there were plenty of retainers and they were fantastically creeping about before the master and the old Sulewatang, who stalked around in a magnificent garb consisting of sarong, closed jackets and finely made hats. A mere wave of the hand, and a retainer came bent over to Andi's brother, and squatted in a very humble fashion, and then crept off to do what he had been ordered to. A mere call for cocoa water and it was brought immediately. This is the most medieval and feudal place I have ever seen. And those girls are the most dramatic examples, although the bent-over men are a good sign of this

535 ● 565 567 [435 582] 574 431 181 576 567 [292]

574 too. Finally, we left at 10:30, although they were still dancing. As we left, a man asked to give the Sulewatang a live
576 rooster for his grandchild. It was a gift and we carried it
431 back. All in all, it was a most impressive evening, bringing
567 out the feudalism of this area and the complete lack of shame
181 regarding it. It is simply the way things are. The slaves do not rebel and perhaps don't think about it. But the psychology
• [535] of this should be studied. The padjoge are selected young. The master looks over his slave girls and orders the pretty ones to go into training with the guru and the drummer. They obey. And they he rents them out for the money they bring in.

565 I forgot to say that Andi said there were many aradjang
838 here. The wandu especially are linked in. Every kepala
793 wanua has aradjang and so do the kepala kampong frequently.
778 Each is in charge of a wandu or bissu. The latter are said to live often with men and to cook and so forth like women. It is said that they are clever and accumulate much wealth usually. I did not find out whence. They are exempt from heerendienst.

595 Regarding polygyny, there are relatively few cases known,
565 perhaps only 1 per cent have more than one wife. There are
567 few men who have three wives but none in this kampong. The radja of Soppeng has ten, and one hundred concubines. Most men have only one. Multiple wives never stay in the same house because they would fight. Nobles usually have two or three houses anyway. The Sulewatang says that this is fine because one does tend to get tired of the same house. He has several, and in each he has a corps of people, evidently slaves.

583 Regarding bride price, they said that the highest was f. 88,
565 but the nobles give much in addition. Often they give as
435 many as one hundred slaves! And this applies now too. They
178 said the lowest price is about f. 12 and a commoner might pay
567 f. 22 or f. 44. Thev said they like to get more because they were proud. The gifts are what raised the ante. The price goes to the girl's father, or if she is a slave to her master. There is no way of getting out of paying this price. Andi said that the children follow the status of the father, but I think he is wrong. But evidently, the tawa-ana is slipping, as I don't get a clear reaction to questions regarding it. They say that the kadi knows the details on this matter. As in Makas-
[684 sar, the law says that a high woman who marries a lower man
588] must be punished by five years of exile separate from her husband.

Concerning the padjoge, I saw the grimness of the Buginese in this activity. The dancing of the padjoge is not festive, and there is little gaiety. The men who are dancing are as dead-pan as the women, and all are deadly serious. Also, the simple music seems to be a symbol of the poverty of spirit of the local people. They are dull adat followers and do not have much life to them. Life is a routine without joking or light banter. The only time I noticed much noise and gaiety was when one large fellow, who was evidently paying, objected because his padjoge did not lie down far enough with face toward him. This motion was frequent, a kind of backward prostration, and maybe it is a form of erotic symbolism. The high piping voices of the women are very impressive. And the dresses are not bad, especially those of bright red. Under them are just sarongs, but they were not really dressed in festive or full attire this night.

Bukaka, September 9, 1949. Fourth day: I went on and finished the schedule. I had the Kepala kampong, the Mohammedan teacher, and the old fellow to work with.

The Kepala kampong said that the average number of living children per woman was three, but that the average number of children born to a woman was five, and thus the average number who die to each woman is two. They say there has been little change in this regard. And evidently there is not much if any difference according to class. This I do notice, that there are plenty of children in all classes.

As for the training of children, they say that the mother is the main trainer, but that the fathers all give some training. I mentioned that I never saw a child hit, but they said that they are occasionally, if they are very bad. But Andi says there is much propaganda against this and that it causes in a child a minderwaardigheid complex [inferiority complex] (and he uses this term in Dutch!). However, he admitted that only the high ones have heard of this and the ordinary people hit their children if necessary.

There is no courtship here. They never go out together. They never meet. Even at feasts, for example, the padjoge, women and girls stay in the back (again I noticed that women never appear when I am in the house of the Kepala kampong.) If a boy sees a girl he likes he may ask his father or someone else to bespeak him with her elders, but even this is not usual. Almost always it is a matter of both pairs of elders doing all the arranging. And there is practically no change noted. The only thing which Andi has seen is an occasional pair coming from school together, but this is carried out for only a short distance. When they leave the vicinity of the

771 are 100 per cent Mohammedan, and though the Toradja here
178 were originally not Mohammedan, they become so very
182 rapidly. I am told that in the Mohammedan religion there is no pressure on anyone to join up (which I know is wrong). As for pagan elements, it is hard to explain, as the translation or translator used the term "kafir" for pagan and this means any non-Mohammedan. (Maybe there is no term for pagan in the language?) Anyway, they finally saw what I meant. They saw that the bissu concept is pagan, and admitted that the
776 Mohammedan authorities do not like it very much. As for the spirits, the younger generation knows little about them (maybe the ordinary kampong youth know more than those that I have talked with). However the old Kepala kampong knew plenty. He laughed and brightened as I read the names of them. Thus he knew pemali, as did Andi. Both knew saradasi, and also radja eroe. They knew dewata or rewata. Also knew several others. The Kepala kampong knew paeppo, but called them popo, as did the Makassarese. In all spirit cases, he made the noise they make, usually a rather piping or whistling noise. He knew parrakang and pontiana. Also
[861] tampakoro, but added that he had not seen them. In some of these cases, Andi said that the spirits are boogey men used now to scare the children, and it may be that a lot of the "spirits" in ethnography are merely that. Thus a Tibetan ethnographer in the United States might hear a lot about Santa Claus, the boogey men, the sandman, and so forth, and go back and write about the spirits of the Americans. The Kepala
838 kampong also knew the Asu panting. As for the bissu, which
793 is the name given them when they are state officials, I got
548 much here, and also later from the Sulewatang. The homo-
●535 sexual ones are called wandu or tjalabai. They are all over,
[759] it is said. As related, when they are in the service of an aradjang, of Bone or of a wanua or of a smaller unit, they are called bissu. But ordinary ones do medical practice, and also hire out as dancers, etc. They go all over, for example, to Buton Island. Andi said he was ashamed of them. They know no shame. But the Kepala kampong seemed to think all this was only funny. He and Andi, laughing hard, imitated them with their swishing, their swaying, coyness, coquetry, etc. Andi said that they usually have plenty of money, and that they are smart. I gathered that they got much as ronggeng [dancing girl] and also (new information) that they act as homosexual prostitutes. Andi said that many men go for them and are willing to pay as much as a f.100 a night for them. He said a man might get so infatuated that he would sell his rice fields and everything to give to a loved wandu. He personally was revolted by this idea. He also

said something about not liking to go with a padjoge, but I am still not clear as to whether they act as prostitutes. The people here use the word ronggeng, and maybe they are the prostitutes. The tjalabai and other homosexuals (some are men proper) cook, sew, and so forth, like women. There is a chief among them (several?) called pua matoa, and evidently a big one who is chief of the bissu who is in charge of the Bone aradjang. I was told that when the Arumpone has a feast and the aradjang is involved, the bissu come from all over and dance. They are fine dancers. Then it seemed that the Kepala kampong knew all about the initiation of the wandu and about their shamanism. He held his fists up and shook them saying that they did this. This proves shamanism. I wish I could see it. The Kepala kampong knew about the "bed of state" to which the rewata descended and then entered the body of the neophyte. He knew also about the singing and dancing and about the faked death for possibly several days on the part of the neophyte. Evidently it still goes on today. He knew the term for the bed, lamin rewata. They knew nothing about Hinduists or other Indian influences. They didn't even know that their script was from India.

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They say they are not fanatic but conservative. Later Denzo said that many of them were fanatic, but agreed that there were not so many as there were in Atjeh, for example.

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Regarding sects, he said that there are many tarikat[mystic brotherhoods]. However, there are few, if any, real debates. He said that here in the kampong the only sect is Mohammedan, but that in Tumurun for example there are many tarikat. The people here know practically nothing about other religions, for example Christianity, Confucianism, etc.

795 829

I did not get very much good material on the death cult. Evidently there has been little change. They said they wash, wind the corpse, and pray, finally burying the body in a side niche grave in the evening of the same day. They said that the size of the stones depends on the wealth and status of the family. I must see the old cemetery here in the kampong. They said that women have two stones, and men only one! There seems to be no ancestral cult as such. I asked about the Lebaran, and they said one might visit the graves at other times as well. Also, they said that people go to the graves of great people with requests, as in Makassar.

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As for entertainment, leisure, and art, the general impression is that the only change that has taken place has been the movie. This change has been dramatic. It is said that if the movies were free, people would go all the time and that the padjoge and other amusements would get no business. They

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The principal said that Buginese pupils are not bright. He said that the girls in particular are dumb. It is necessary to separate the boys and the girls at play because the boys are extremely obscene, especially the Radja's son, who, according to the principal, was a scoundrel anyway. The upper boys are especially bad with the girls. The lower boys act better. As the principal says, this is probably because most of the school girls are uppers and therefore the lower boys wouldn't dare fool around with them. This is in line with the most powerful of taboos. It seems that only upper girls go to his school, although there are many lower boys. 153 857 565 831 876

Andi says that the price [probably refers to bride price --Analyst] of an upper is usually f.40 "plus one person." Now they do not give a slave, but use the same expression, and add f.48 more to bring the total to f.88. High ones may add on more if they wish. From my window I saw a noble going to work one morning. He was a big man wearing a seersucker suit and a gold bordered songko. Ten paces behind him was his man carrying a brief case, wearing a white shirt and pants and a velvet songko, with a kris stuck in his belt. This is a notable picture of mixture: suit, brief case, seersucker suit, songko, rank, office work, etc. 583 565 435 291 177 554

One night there was a big noise in the market place. The information office had sent a movie on erosion which is a big problem here. A big crowd gathered, but the Assistant Resident said that even the Arumpone, who sat next to him, did not understand the film. He kept asking what it all meant. This demonstrates that films must use local scenes and more understandable material in attacking such problems. It would be like trying to explain erosion to the United States farmers by showing pictures of Bone and rice. 546 208

Pasar Malam [Evening fair--Analyst] is held here for six days starting with Lebaran Hadji. This takes place in the pasar building. To get in one pays f.0.50. The main form of entertainment is gambling, most of which consists of playing the Chinese button-counting game, with much wagering. There is a troup of padjoge, but little dancing. The whole thing is dull and unimaginative, like the Buginese themselves. How different this is from the fine dancing I saw in the Batavia Pasar Malam. 535 517 525 368

I told Thierens about the relatively few children here. He asked a noble about this, who said it was because of the tremendous divorce rate here. He explained that after marriages are arranged the couple often separate after a very short time. Thus there is little chance to breed. Then too a man often refuses to give the surat talak (divorce papers) and the woman cannot remarry. 586 153 163

541 On Friday, October 7, there was a big ceremony in the
634 hall. I went to the pasar malam twice, once with Andi. There
535 were some acrobats and a group of padjoge in elaborate
435 dress from Ulawan (on the road to Makassar), in addition to
533 the gambling. There were also a few flute players and singers
832 from Ulawan. They sat in a circle and played and sang near
505 the padjoge place. The songs were of the pantun type and are evidently suggestive. I asked again about the padjoge, and Andi stresses that they are not prostitutes. In fact, he seemed shocked at the idea. He said this may be the case on the sly, but it is not allowed. He said that the money they get is split, 80 per cent going to the master, and the rest divided between their coach ("mother") and the male leader ("father"). For their services a small amount is paid at the local pasar malam, but if they are called to Makassar for the pasar malam they may cost f. 3,000, which the city pays. In addition they get gifts from the crown. There are, or were, court dancers too. These were called padjaga. They were evidently uppers, not slaves. This is similar to the Makassarese pakarena. Andi says that only a few kampongs now have padjoge.

541 The races are somewhat boring. I went one day and sat
525 with the Arumpone. The horses are little, and so are the boys, who ride them without saddles. All horses are evidently owned by nobles, who do the betting. There are purses and prizes.

541 All members of the Hadat Tinggi were present at the cere-
728 mony of the surrender of powers. So were the representatives
642 of the parliament and the district chief and radjas from all over.
634 Also the poor Dutch. They started with the "Wilhelmus" played in awful harmony by the local band; and then they played "Indonesia Raya" which must have given the Dutch a pain. Then there
[537] were long speeches by President Sukawati, representatives of various bodies, the Arumpone, and the Resident of South Celebes. The best one was a speech made without notes by a young wali of Makassar city (or perhaps Makassar district). After lunch there were more speeches. I heard a lot of use of the word democracy. This is notable inasmuch as this is a completely undemocratic area. The word is magic. I remarked to a young noble from Soppeng that I also heard a great deal in regard to zelfbestuur but nothing about volksbestuur. And that is just about it. Who is the zelf?

The Hadat Tinggi sat in front and the ranking was: the Arumpone, Goa (a colorless man, who gave a very short speech at lunch; he may not be very happy), Luwu, Buton (a remarkable man, small, fat, and old), and then the others in

I 6635 6068 6066 boasting pattern in the United States and Indonesian culture. He said that they will give their "platform" in incidental speeches and on wall posters.

All of this is not too clear. Anyway, I see that Stefel, like Riekerk, thinks that the "radical" tendency in elections is encouraging. At least some Dutch officials seem to want to have "radicalism" here. Stefel says that the absence of political parties in general is a sign of political immaturity only; they will come.

M 304 565 881 778 852 535 Makassar, October 11, 1949: I had a talk with Rahim. He showed me photographs of circumcision, with tooth filing and hair cutting as well, taken in kampong Borongkaluku of district Borolloe. This is under Gallarang, one of the nine bate of Goa.. This kampong is eighteen kilometers east of Makassar on the way to Malino. In the pictures there were three children being fixed, all of nobility. Two of them were girls, one was a boy. Also their youthful lower-class followers participated, wearing very elaborate, decorative dress too. Only nobles can afford to have these great feasts. There is a big procession, with people carrying all sorts of magical objects. This goes to the holy stone of Songkolo' (there are only three in all Goa), which is near Borongkaluku in the district of Borolloe. The stone is in a fenced-in bamboo place, like the stone at Kale Goa. Here a man does a kris dance before an open door of the flat stone sanctuary. A woman does a holy dance in the same place. These are fine photographs. They also show a mother having her first teeth filing. This is done ceremonially only, with a gold ring. She has clamped between her teeth a piece of wood. A fowl is being held by the operator who smears the blood from it on her teeth. Then there are photographs of the boy and the two girls (look to be about 8 to 5 years old) being "filed". (Here again it is only mock filing with a gold ring; after a few years they will get the real filing with a stone). They also have pieces of wood clamped in their teeth. Other photographs show these same children getting their hair locks cut off. There is a wonderful picture of a boy's penis being clamped and cut (supercision) and another showing the bloody scar on the top of the penis. This is done with a steel knife. There is also a photograph of one of the girls being cut, but her vulva is behind a cloth sheet and the operator is working on it underneath, so that from the picture one cannot see what is going on. Another photograph shows the Mohammedan prayers being offered at one side and a pagan stick offering on the other.